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EXDIS FROM HILL FOR LORD ONLY

E.O. 11652: GDS TAGS: OVIP(KISSINGER, HENRY A.), PFOR

SUBJECT: DRAFT SPEECH FOR LARAMIE

1. ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT FOREIGN POLICY IS FAR FROM BEING THE HOTTEST TOPIC IN LARAMIE, THIS DRAFT AIMS TO EXPLAIN THE INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATIONS OF OUR NATIONAL SUCCESS: PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE. THERE ARE THREE MAIN THEMES. FIRST, AMERICA'S HISTORIC NATION-BUILDING ACHIEVEMENTS BENEFITTED NOT ONLY FROM OUR GEOPOLITICAL POSITION IN THE WORLD ORDER, BUT ALSO FROM AN EFFECTIVE FOREIGN POLICY. SECOND, OUR PRESENT EFFORTS TO MAINTAIN AND ADVANCE OUR SECURITY, PROSPERITY AND VALUES DEPEND UPON ACTIVE INTER-ACTION WITH THE WORLD. THIRD, THE PROBLEMS OF THE FUTURE REQUIRE GLOBAL MORE THAN NATIONAL SOLUTIONS -- WITH A SPECIAL WORD ON THE ENVIRONMENT FOR WYOMINGITES CONCERNED ABOUT STRIP MINING. FOR THE UNIVERSITY AUDIENCE I HAVE ALSO PUT IN A PITCH FOR INTERNATIONAL AND AREA STUDIES. HAK PROMISED THIS TO THE UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS GROUP LAST YEAR, BUT NEVER DELIVERED OWING TO THE CANCELLATION OF THE MICHIGAN COMMENCEMENT SPEECH.

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2. BEGIN TEXT: (TITLE) AMERICA AND THE WORLD: THE

GLOBAL CONTEXT OF NATIONAL SUCCESS

3. IN THE LATE 19TH CENTURY IT WAS SAID THAT THERE WERE TWO KINDS OF PEOPLE IN WYOMING: RANCHERS WHO DID A LITTLE RUSTLING ON THE SIDE, AND RUSTLERS WHO DID A LITTLE RANCHING ON THE SIDE. GALE MCGEE UPHOLDS THAT GREAT TRADITION OF STANDING ON BOTH SIDES OF RESPECTABILITY. HE USED TO BE A PROFESSOR WHO PRACTICED A LITTLE FOREIGN POLICY ON THE SIDE AND NOW IS A FOREIGN POLICY PRACTITIONER WHO DOES A LITTLE TEACHING ON THE SIDE.

3A. THE LAST TIME I SPOKE ON FOREIGN POLICY IN LARAMIE IT WAS AS A HARVARD PROFESSOR, INVITED HERE TO THE UNIVERSITY'S INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS HEADED BY PROFESSOR GALE MCGEE. PROF. MCGEE'S METHOD OF INSTRUCTION WAS SO INSPIRED THAT HIS STUDENTS AT THAT TIME WERE PREVAILING UPON HIM TO RUN FOR THE U.S. SENATE. I SOMEWHAT RUEFULLY RECALLED AT THAT TIME THAT MY STUDENTS WANTED ME OUT OF TOWN AS WELL -- NOT SO MUCH AS A CONTRIBUTION TO THE NATION AS TO THEIR OWN PEACE OF MIND.

4. AS AN INFLUENTIAL MEMBER OF THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, AS THE DISTINGUISHED CHAIRMAN OF THE

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POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE COMMITTEE, AND IN SENATE FLOOR DEBATES, SENATOR GALE MCGEE HAS DEMONSTRATED TIME AND AGAIN THAT THOSE UNIVERSITY OF WYOMING STUDENTS OF NEARLY TWO DECADES AGO POSSESSED REMARKABLE VISION;

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY HAS BEEN THE BETTER FOR THEIR
WILLINGNESS TO PART WITH A GREAT TEACHER.

5. GALE MCGEE'S RESPONSIBLE APPROACH TO THE QUESTION OF
REDEFINING THE U.S. INTELLIGENCE ROLE COMMENSURATE WITH
OUR NATIONAL PRINCIPLES AS WELL AS RESPONSIBILITIES;
HIS SUPPORT FOR AN EFFORT TO BUILD A NEW ERA OF INTER-
NATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION; AND HIS STATESMANLIKE
EFFORTS TO PROMOTE AN EFFECTIVE NATIONAL PARTNERSHIP
BETWEEN CONGRESS AND THE EXECUTIVE -- FOR ALL THIS AND
MORE, GALE MCGEE DESERVES THE GRATITUDE OF THIS ADMINIS-
TRATION AND THE THANKS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

6. THE FIRST PRESIDENT TO LEAD THE UNITED STATES INTO OUR
TWENTIETH CENTURY ROLE AS THE MOST POWERFUL AND INFLUENTIAL
NATION IN THE WORLD SPENT THE FORMATIVE, UNIFYING YEARS
OF HIS LIFE IN THE GREAT PLAINS AND MOUNTAINS OF THE WEST.

IT WAS HERE THAT THEODORE ROOSEVELT CAME TO UNDERSTAND
THE LINK BETWEEN OUR NATION'S FRONTIER EXPERIENCE AND OUR
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INTERNATIONAL DESTINY. THE WINNING OF THE FRONTIER WAS,
HE SAID, "THE GREAT EPIC FEAT OF OUR HISTORY; THOSE WHO
BUILT THE WEST SHAPED THE CHARACTER OF THE WHOLE REPUBLIC
AND THEREBY PROFOUNDLY INFLUENCED THE COURSE OF EVENTS
THROUGHOUT THE WORLD."

7. TODAY I WANT TO DISCUSS WITH YOU NOT ONLY AMERICA'S
IMPACT ON THE WORLD, BUT ALSO THE IMPORTANCE OF OUR ROLE

IN THE WORLD TO OUR DOMESTIC WELLBEING -- IN OUR HISTORIC
ACHIEVEMENT OF NATION BUILDING; IN OUR PRESENT EFFORTS TO
PROMOTE PEACE, PROSPERITY AND OUR NATION'S VALUES; AND IN
OUR APPROACH TO THE VAST RANGE OF GLOBAL PROBLEMS OF THE
FUTURE, SUCH AS THE HEALTH OF OUR ENVIRONMENT.

8. THE FOUNDING FATHERS OF THIS NATION WERE ANIMATED
BY A SENSE OF OBLIGATION, AND OF MISSION, TO THE PEOPLES
OF THE WORLD AND TO POSTERITY. THEIR ACHIEVEMENT WAS
TO LAUNCH THE MOST IMPORTANT POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS OF
MODERN HISTORY. OUR REVOLUTION, INDEPENDENCE,
NATION-MAKING AND DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES SET EXAMPLES AND
STANDARDS WHICH EXCITED AND ENCOURAGED IMITATION ALL
AROUND THE GLOBE. EVEN MORE IMPORTANT WAS THE IMPACT OF

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THE GREAT SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LABORATORY OF AMERICA --
THE SPECTACLE NOT ONLY OF SUCCESSFUL SELF-GOVERNMENT
BUT ALSO OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY, SOCIAL EQUALITY,
RELIGIOUS LIBERTY AND THE POTENTIAL CAPACITY OF A FREE
PEOPLE TO SHAPE THEIR OWN DESTINY.

9. THE IMPACT OF THESE IDEAS AND DREAMS LED AMERICA IN
THE 19TH CENTURY TO AFFECT THE WORLD IN A NEW WAY -- AS A
DISTANT BUT POWERFUL MAGNET DRAWING GREAT TIDES OF
IMMIGRATION -- AND IN THE PROCESS SUMMONING OVER THE
MOST IMPORTANT PART OF THE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH
CENTURY WORLD ENDLESS RIVULETS OF DEMOCRATIC CHANGE. FOR

IT WAS A MOVEMENT OF IDEAS AS WELL AS PEOPLE. IT NOT ONLY SHAPED THE CONFIGURATION OF THIS NATION, BUT VASTLY ALTERED THE ASSUMPTIONS AND SOCIAL STRUCTURES OF THE OLD WORLD.

10. IN MORE RECENT DECADES, AMERICA'S IMPACT ON THE WORLD HAS BEEN DIRECT AND IMMEDIATE. FOR MOST OF THIS CENTURY GLOBAL PEACE AND PROSPERITY HAVE BEEN DEPENDENT UPON OUR EXERTIONS. WHEN WORLD WAR II ENDED WE TOOK THE LEAD IN HELPING A SHATTERED WORLD REBUILD FROM DEVASTATION. WE HELPED CREATE THE COMMERCIAL AND FINANCIAL

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SYSTEM THAT SPREAD PROSPERITY AND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY TO EVERY CORNER OF THE WORLD. WE BUILT PEACETIME ALLIANCES TO MAINTAIN GLOBAL STABILITY AND DEFEND THE VALUES WE SHARE WITH THE GREAT INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES. WE RESISTED AGGRESSION AND MEDIATED CONFLICT. AND WE PUT FORTH THE POSITIVE INITIATIVES WHICH HAVE LED MANKIND'S STRUGGLE AGAINST DISEASE, HUNGER, IGNORANCE AND THE FORCES OF OPPRESSION AND TERROR THAT HAVE SCARRED THIS CENTURY.

11. NO NATION HAS MADE SUCH A CONTRIBUTION. AND NONE CAN MAKE SUCH A CONTRIBUTION NOW OR IN THE FUTURE. THE BEST HOPE FOR A WORLD STILL BESET BY WAR, POVERTY AND TYRANNY IS A STRONG, COMMITTED, VIGILANT AMERICA.

12. THROUGHOUT ALL OUR HISTORY AMERICA'S APPROACH TO THE

WORLD HAS BEEN FOUNDED UPON PRINCIPLE AND MORAL CONCERN --

THIS IS A CAUSE FOR PRIDE, NOT APOLOGY.

13. BUT EQUALLY, FROM THE VERY EARLIEST DAYS OF OUR
REPUBLIC, AMERICA'S POSITIVE ENGAGEMENT WITH THE WORLD
HAS SERVED OUR NATIONAL INTEREST AND CONTRIBUTED SIGNIFI-
CANTLY TO OUR DOMESTIC SUCCESS. THE NATURE OF OUR ROLE IN
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THE INTERNATIONAL STRUCTURE OF NATIONS SHIELDED OUR
EFFORTS TO SPAN A CONTINENT AND BUILD OUR NATION; IT IS
THE FOUNDATION OF OUR PRESENT POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND
MORAL OBJECTIVES; AND IT WILL BE INDISPENSABLE AS WE FACE
THE NEW CHALLENGES OF INTERDEPENDENCE.

14. THE PAST: NATION-BUILDING IN THE GLOBAL CONTEXT
(UNDERSCORE)

15. THE AMERICAN RECORD SHOWS, IF HISTORY DOES NOT OFTEN
RECALL, THAT WE HAVE CARRIED OUT OUR UNIQUE DESTINY AND
PURSUED OUR IDEALS IN THE CONTEXT OF A VITAL, CHANGING
RELATIONSHIP WITH THE WORLD.

16. WE DECLARED OUR INDEPENDENCE "IN DECENT RESPECT TO
THE OPINIONS OF MANKIND." OUR FOUNDING FATHERS WERE
SOPHISTICATED STATESMEN WHO UNDERSTOOD THE EUROPEAN
BALANCE OF POWER AND KNEW HOW OUR COUNTRY COULD PROFIT
FROM IT. OUR INDEPENDENCE WAS NOT WON BY AMERICAN ARMS
ALONE. FRANKLIN AND JEFFERSON PERCEIVED THAT THE
EUROPEAN POWERS SAW THE CONFLICT IN NORTH AMERICA AS PART

OF A GLOBAL STRUGGLE. THEIR SHREWD DIPLOMACY LED TO THE
INVOLVEMENT OF BRITAIN'S ENEMIES FRANCE, SPAIN AND RUSSIA
IN FORMS THAT FAVORED THE CAUSE OF THE REBELLIOUS COLONIES
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-- AND THEN CUT LOOSE FROM THOSE EUROPEAN POWERS IN A
SEPARATE TREATY OF PEACE BY WHICH JOHN JAY WON THE
BRITISH CROWN'S RECOGNITION AND LIQUIDATED THE RESIDUAL
PROBLEMS OF THE REVOLUTION.

17. OUR WESTWARD COURSE OF EXPANSION WAS ALSO A PRODUCT
IN PART OF CAREFUL DIPLOMATIC ATTENTION TO, AND INVOLVE-
MENT WITH, THE WORLD'S GREAT POWERS.

18. AFTER THIRTY YEARS OF AN ERRATIC FOREIGN POLICY DUR-
ING WHICH WE CAME TO THE BRINK OF WAR WITH FRANCE AND
FACED THE CAPTURE OF OUR CAPITAL BY THE BRITISH, WE
BECAME ALERT TO NEW OPPORTUNITIES PROVIDED BY CHANGES ON
THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE. THE EFFECTIVE ELIMINATION OF
FRANCE AND SPAIN FROM THE HEMISPHERE, THE EXPANSION OF
RUSSIA TO THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST, AND THE GROWING DIS-
AFFECTION OF GREAT BRITAIN FROM THE EUROPEAN POWERS LED
US IN 1823 TO CONCERT WITH BRITAIN IN THE MONROE DOCTRINE.
THUS AMERICA BENEFITTED FROM THE FACT THAT FOR THE HUNDRED
YEARS BETWEEN WATERLOO AND 1914 THERE WAS TO EXIST A WORLD
BALANCE OF POWER PRESIDED OVER BY BRITAIN AND CAPABLE OF
PREVENTING A GREAT WAR.

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19. WE TOOK ON A VAST FOREIGN COMMITMENT WITH THE MONROE DOCTRINE: THE PROTECTION OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE FROM THE OLD WORLD. WE DID SO IN THE FIRM KNOWLEDGE THAT ENGLAND, IN FURTHERANCE OF ITS OWN GLOBAL INTERESTS, WOULD SEE TO THE ENFORCEMENT OF THAT DOCTRINE FOR US; THAT SHE WOULD RESIST THE EXTENSION OF EUROPEAN EMPIRES IN THE NEW WORLD. IN THE WORDS OF PRIME MINISTER CANNING, THE DOCTRINE "CALLED THE NEW WORLD INTO EXISTENCE TO REDRESS THE BALANCE OF THE OLD."

20. THUS, THE DISTRIBUTION OF POWER IN WORLD RELATIONS, OUR PERCEPTION OF IT, AND CAREFUL ENGAGEMENT WITH IT, PROVIDED THE SHIELDING CIRCUMSTANCES THAT PERMITTED THE YOUNG UNITED STATES, IN RELIANCE UPON THE BRITISH NAVY, TO TURN OUR BACK TO THE ATLANTIC AND OPEN THE CONTINENT BEFORE US.

21. THEODORE ROOSEVELT NOTED THAT LONG BEFORE JEFFERSON'S NEGOTIATIONS REMOVED THE FRENCH CLAIM TO THE LOUISIANA TERRITORY, FOREIGN CLAIMS HAD BEEN EFFECTIVELY UNDERMINED BY THE GREAT WESTERN MOVEMENT OF AMERICANS AND THE FREE COMMUNITIES THEY QUICKLY FOUNDED.

22. BUT THE CONSOLIDATION OF THEIR GREAT PIONEERING
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ACHIEVEMENT WAS MADE POSSIBLE BY THOSE NEGOTIATIONS AND

BY THE SUBSEQUENT SERIES OF REMARKABLE DIPLOMATIC
SUCCESES: THE ANNEXATION OF FLORIDA, THE OREGON BOUNDARY
SETTLEMENT WITH GREAT BRITAIN, THE TREATY OF GUADELOUPE
HIDALGO, THE GADSDEN PURCHASE, SECRETARY OF STATE SEWARD'S
OBTAINING OF RUSSIAN WITHDRAWAL FROM THE HEMISPHERE BY THE
ALASKA PURCHASE -- ALL WERE TRIUMPHS OF FOREIGN POLICY
DURING DECADES WHEN MOST CITIZENS BELIEVED AMERICA DID NOT,
NOR EVER SHOULD, HAVE A FOREIGN POLICY.

23. INDEED, OUR VERY ACHIEVEMENTS IN DEALING WITH THE
WORLD BROUGHT AMERICANS UNDER THE SWAY OF A SHARED
MYTHOLOGY. AS A SOCIETY MADE UP OF THOSE FLEEING THE
PERSECUTIONS AND POWER POLITICS OF THE OLD WORLD, AMERI-
CANS -- WHETHER MAYFLOWER DESCENDANTS OR NEW ARRIVALS
FROM THE FAILED REVOLUTIONS OF 1848 -- CAME TO ASSUME
THAT WE WERE BEYOND THE REACH OF THE WICKED.

24. WHILE OUR SECURITY CONTINUED IN REALITY TO BE ASSURED
BY OUR PLACE IN THE INTERNATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE TIME,
WE INCREASINGLY WERE BEMUSED BY THE POPULAR BELIEF THAT
PRESIDENT MONROE'S OBLIGATION TO DEFEND THE WESTERN

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HEMISPHERE AND, INDEED, ALMOST ANY OBLIGATION WE MIGHT
CHOOSE TO ASSUME, COULD IN THE NATURE OF THINGS BE VALI-
DATED BY THE UNITED STATES ALONE. SHIELDED BY TWO OCEANS
AND ENRICHED BY A BOUNTIFUL NATURE, WE PROCLAIMED OUR
SPECIAL SITUATION AS UNIVERSALLY SALUTARY TO NATIONS

WHOSE NARROWER MARGIN OF SURVIVAL MEANT THAT THEIR RANGE
OF CHOICE WAS FAR MORE LIMITED THAN OUR OWN. INDEED, THE
CONCERN OF OTHER PEOPLES FOR SECURITY ONLY REINFORCED OUR
SENSE OF UNIQUENESS. WE WERE INCREASINGLY A HAVEN FOR
MILLIONS, A PLACE WHERE INJUSTICES, PRIVATIONS, AND
ABRIDGEMENTS OF HUMAN DIGNITY WHICH IMMIGRANTS HAD
SUFFERED WERE ABSENT OR SUBJECT TO SWIFT REDRESS.

25. THUS HAD WE LOST THE POLICY SO CONSCIOUSLY AND
CONSISTENTLY PRACTICED BY THE FOUNDING FATHERS -- OF
PRUDENT INVOLVEMENT WITH THE WORLD IN WHICH BY NECESSITY
AMERICA'S DESTINY WOULD BE FULFILLED.

26. AS OUR SECURITY AND POWER EXPANDED WE BECAME
INCREASINGLY PRONE TO REGARD DIPLOMACY WITH SUSPICION.
ARMS AND ALLIANCES WERE SEEN AS IMMORAL AND REACTIONARY;
NEGOTIATIONS WERE NOT A MEANS OF RECONCILING OUR IDEALS
WITH OUR INTERESTS, BUT A DEVICE TO ENTANGLE US IN THE
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CONSTANT QUARRELS OF A MORALLY QUESTIONABLE OLD WORLD.
OUR NATIVE INCLINATION FOR STRAIGHTFORWARDNESS BROUGHT
INCREASING IMPATIENCE WITH DIPLOMACY, WHOSE ESSENTIAL
CHARACTER IS COMPROMISE.

27. IN THIS ATMOSPHERE EVEN THE PURCHASE OF ALASKA WAS
REGARDED IN ITS DAY AS A TOWERING FOLLY EXPLAINABLE ONLY
IN TERMS OF AMERICAN GULLIBILITY IN THE FACE OF OLD WORLD
DIPLOMATIC GUILE. CONGRESS WAS PREVAILED UPON ONLY WITH

THE GREATEST DIFFICULTY TO PROVIDE THE SEVEN MILLION
DOLLARS TO COMPLETE THE DEAL. THIS MYTHOLOGY OF AMERICAN
INEPTITUDE IN ITS DIPLOMATIC PURSUITS CARRIED INTO THE
TWENTIETH CENTURY. WILL ROGERS WAS ALWAYS ASSURED OF A
LAUGH WHEN HE CRACKED, "AMERICA NEVER LOST A WAR AND NEVER
WON A CONFERENCE."

28. FORGETFUL OF THE WISDOM BY WHICH THE FOUNDING FATHERS
WON OUR INDEPENDENCE AND SECURED OUR SAFETY, AND DISTAIN-
FUL OF THE TECHNIQUES BY WHICH ALL NATIONS -- EVEN THE
UNITED STATES -- MUST PRESERVE ITS INTERESTS BY ENGAG-
ING THE WORLD, AMERICA ENTERED THE TWENTIETH CENTURY --
WHICH WOULD PROVE TO BE THE MOST COMPLEX AND TURBULENT

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TIME IN HISTORY.

29. AS LORD BRYCE SAID IN HIS (BEGIN UNDERLINE) AMERICAN
COMMONWEALTH, (END UNDERLINE) AMERICA HAD BEEN SAILING
"ON A SUMMER SEA", BUT A CLOUD BANK WAS
"ON THE HORIZON AND NOW NO LONGER DISTANT, A TIME OF MISTS
AND SHADOWS, WHEREIN DANGERS MAY BE CONCEALED WHOSE FORM
AND MAGNITUDE SHE CAN SCARCELY CONJECTURE."

30. THE PRESENT: THE GLOBAL DIMENSION OF AMERICAN SECUR-
ITY AND SUCCESS (UNDERSCORE)

31. IN THE EARLY YEARS OF THIS CENTURY AMERICA FACED AN
APPARENT CHOICE BETWEEN CONTINUED DETACHMENT AND ACTIVE
INVOLVEMENT IN WORLD AFFAIRS. APPARENT, NOT REAL, FOR THE
PAX BRITANNICA ON WHICH WE HAD RELIED WAS ERODING.

INCREASINGLY, WE WERE THE ONLY DEMOCRATIC NATION WITH
POWER ENOUGH TO STAND UP ON ONE SIDE OF A PRECARIOUS
WORLD BALANCE. BUT NOTHING IN OUR EXPERIENCE HAD EQUIPPED
US TO RECOGNIZE THE NEW RESPONSIBILITY THAT HAD FALLEN TO
US. WE CONTINUED TO REJECT THE DEMANDS OF THE POLITICS
OF POWER, AND ABHORRED ALLIANCES AS CONTRARY TO AMERICAN
PRINCIPLES. IN THE PLACE OF FOREIGN POLICY WE FELL BACK
ON OUR TRADITION OF LAW IN REPEATEDLY UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPTS
TO LEGISLATE SOLUTIONS TO INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS.
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32. OUR REAL GEOPOLITICAL INTERESTS AFFECTED BY WORLD
WAR I WERE TRANSLATED INTO A UNIVERSAL MORAL OBJECTIVE.
WE JUSTIFIED OUR PARTICIPATION ON LEGALISTIC AND
IDEALISTIC GROUNDS; WE FOUGHT THE WAR "TO END ALL WARS."
THE INEVITABLE DISILLUSION WITH AN IMPERFECT OUTCOME LED
TO A TIDE OF ISOLATIONIST SENTIMENT ACCOMPANIED BY
HEIGHTENED MORAL GESTURES -- AND AT A TIME WHEN WAR HAD
SO SHAKEN THE INTERNATIONAL ORDER THAT WHAT WAS AT ISSUE
WAS NO LONGER THE ADJUSTMENT OF DIFFERENCES WITHIN A
SYSTEM OF EQUILIBRIUM, BUT THE SYSTEM ITSELF.

33. OUR CONTINUED FAILURE TO DEVELOP A POLICY CAPABLE OF
COMPREHENDING BOTH OUR IDEALS AND OUR INTERESTS LED US,
IN THE YEARS BETWEEN THE WARS, TO TREAT ALLIES AS RIVALS,
WHOSE DEFENSES IT WAS A DIPLOMATIC TRIUMPH TO REDUCE. AT
THE BRINK OF WORLD WAR II WE WERE NEARING THE ZENITH OF

OUR COMMITMENTS AS WE APPROACHED THE NADIR OF OUR PRE-
CAUTIONS. ISOLATIONISM HAD BEEN TRANSFORMED FROM A
COMFORTABLE ASSUMPTION TO A DEEPLY-FELT CONVICTION. THE
GREAT DEPRESSION DREW OUR ENERGIES FURTHER INWARD AS WE
SOUGHT TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEMS OF OUR OWN SOCIETY --

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EVEN AS THAT SAME DEPRESSION SIMULTANEOUSLY GENERATED
REAL DANGERS ABROAD. ONLY WITH THE GREATEST CAUTION
COULD FDR BEGIN TO INFORM PUBLIC OPINION OF THE MOUNTING
DANGERS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

34. WORLD WAR II WAS WELL UNDERWAY BEFORE WE WERE STIRRED
FROM ISOLATION BY EXTERNAL ATTACK. WE SUSTAINED OUR
EFFORT BECAUSE OF THE OBVIOUS TOTALITARIAN EVIL. TOTAL
VICTORY AND AN IMPATIENCE WITH THE POLITICAL RAMIFICATIONS
OF THE WAR ENHANCED OUR SENSE OF MORAL RECTITUDE -- AND
ILL-PREPARED US FOR WAR'S AFTERMATH.

35. YET IN THE FIRST POSTWAR YEARS AMERICA FOUND WITHIN
ITSELF UNIMAGINED CAPACITIES OF STATESMANSHIP AND CREATIV-
ITY. LEADERS OF BOTH PARTIES AND MANY PERSUASIONS --
TRUMAN, EISENHOWER, VANDENBERG AND MARSHALL, ACHESON,
BUNCHE AND DULLES -- BUILT A NATIONAL CONSENSUS FOR
RESPONSIBLE AMERICAN LEADERSHIP IN THE WORLD; FOR A
FOREIGN POLICY OF BOTH PRINCIPLE AND PRAGMATISM.

36. ALBERT EINSTEIN SAID AT THE OUTSET OF THE NUCLEAR
AGE THAT "EVERYTHING HAS CHANGED, EXCEPT OUR MODE OF

THINKING." TO COPE WITH A WORLD WHOSE BASIC CONDITIONS
WERE SO RADICALLY ALTERED WAS A TASK OF A MAGNITUDE AS
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GREAT AS THAT WHICH FACED THE FOUNDING FATHERS. WHEN
DEAN ACHESON SAID HE WAS "PRESENT AT THE CREATION"
IT WAS NOT MERELY THE CREATION OF THE COLD WAR TO WHICH
HE REFERRED, BUT OF A NEW ERA IN THE HISTORY OF MANKIND.

37. IN THE EARLY YEARS OF THE POSTWAR PERIOD WE WERE
MILITARILY AND ECONOMICALLY THE WORLD'S PREDOMINANT
POWER. AND POWER WAS ACCOMPANIED BY VISION. WE
ABANDONED MYTH AND FACED THE DEMANDS OF THE WORLD
SQUARELY.

38. AMERICANS CAN BE PROUD OF WHAT THEIR COUNTRY
ACCOMPLISHED IN THE POSTWAR DECADES TO BRING ABOUT A
STABLE AND PROSPEROUS WORLD ENVIRONMENT AND ONE IN WHICH
OUR OWN NATIONAL INTERESTS COULD FLOURISH. THE RECOVERY
OF WESTERN EUROPE AND JAPAN, THE CREATION AND CONSTANT
REVITALIZATION OF PEACETIME ALLIANCES, THE SHAPING OF THE
GLOBAL TRADE AND MONETARY SYSTEM, THE ECONOMIC ADVANCE
OF NEWER AND POORER NATIONS, THE MEASURES TO CONTROL THE
NUCLEAR ARMS RACE COMPRISE AN ENDURING ACHIEVEMENT OF
AMERICAN LEADERSHIP. AND IN THE PROCESS WE LEARNED THAT
WORLD PEACE AND PROGRESS IS NOT ONLY COMPATIBLE WITH

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AMERICA'S OWN INTERESTS, IT IS AN INDISPENSABLE ELEMENT
IN OUR EFFORT TO ACHIEVE OUR MOST IMPORTANT NATIONAL
OBJECTIVES: A SECURE AND A PROSPEROUS AMERICA WITH STRONG
AND FLOURISHING DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND VALUES.

39. (BEGIN UNDERSCORE) TO KEEP AMERICA STRONG AND SECURE,
(END UNDERSCORE) WE WILL MAINTAIN THE MILITARY POWER
NEEDED TO MEET ANY CHALLENGE TO OUR NATION. BUT SECURITY
CANNOT BE ACHIEVED IN ISOLATION. OUR CLOSE TIES WITH
THE INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES OF WESTERN EUROPE, NORTH
AMERICA AND JAPAN HAVE BEEN THE CORNERSTONE OF WORLD
STABILITY AND PEACE FOR A GENERATION. WE SHARE COMMON
CONCEPTIONS OF THE DIGNITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL, A COMMON
CONVICTION OF A LINKED DESTINY AND A COMMON INTEREST IN
PEACE AND PROSPERITY. OUR ALLIANCES REPRESENTED INITIALLY
A RESPONSE TO MILITARY THREAT. OUR COMMON CONCERN WITH
SECURITY REMAINS FUNDAMENTAL, BUT TODAY WE ARE LOOKING
BEYOND MILITARY ISSUES TO SHARED EFFORTS ACROSS A BROAD
RANGE OF HUMAN ACTIVITY. WE HAVE BEGUN JOINT EFFORTS
TO EASE GLOBAL TENSIONS, TO COORDINATE OUR KEY ECONOMIC
POLICIES AND TO ADDRESS THE GREAT NEW ECONOMIC ISSUES OF
OF OUR TIME. OUR RELATIONS WITH OUR ALLIES AND FRIENDS
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WILL REMAIN OUR FIRST INTERNATIONAL PRIORITY.

40. BUT A SECURE AND COOPERATIVE WORLD ORDER REQUIRES

US AS WELL TO SEEK THE POSITIVE RECONCILIATION OF INTERESTS
WITH PAST AND PRESENT ADVERSARIES. PEACE, TO BE STABLE AND
DURABLE, MUST PLACE ON A MORE RELIABLE BASIS THE RELATIONS
BETWEEN NATIONS WITH THE POWER TO DESTROY OUR PLANET. IN
RECENT YEARS THE RIGID AND DANGEROUSLY RECURRING CONFRONTA-
TIONS OF THE COLD WAR HAVE GIVEN WAY TO THE BEGINNING OF
DIALOGUE AND THE EASING OF TENSION. THE SUSPICION
AND RIVALRY OF TWO GENERATIONS WILL NOT SOON BE SWEEPED
AWAY, AND REAL MORAL AND IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES EXIST.
AMERICA WILL CONTINUE TO FIRMLY DEFEND OUR VITAL INTERESTS
AND THOSE OF OUR FRIENDS. BUT WE SHALL NEVER LOSE SIGHT
OF THE FACT THAT IN AN AGE SHADOWED BY THE TREAT OF
THERMONUCLEAR EXTINCTION, THE SEARCH FOR PEACE IS AN
IMPERATIVE; WITHOUT IT, ALL ELSE WE DO, ALL PLANS WE FORM,
CAN BE OF LITTLE ENDURING VALUE.

41. WE WILL CONTINUE TO SEEK RELIABLE, RECIPROCAL
MEASURES OF CONTAINING THE STRATEGIC ARMS RACE;
WE WILL CONTINUE TO CONSIDER COOPERATIVE ARRANGEMENTS

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ACROSS A WIDE RANGE OF TECHNICAL, CULTURAL AND COMMERCIAL
FIELDS TO DEEPEN THE MUTUAL STAKE IN PEACE. BUT PROGRESS
IN THESE AREAS AND THE OVERALL STATE OF OUR ATTITUDE TO-
WARD THOSE WHO WOULD OPPOSE US WILL DEPEND UPON WHETHER
WE SEE CONCRETE EVIDENCE OF RESTRAINED AND RESPONSIBLE
CONDUCT ON THEIR PART -- ON ISSUES WHERE AMERICA'S

INTERESTS ARE AFFECTED DIRECTLY, AS IN EUROPE, AS WELL
AS IN THOSE PERIPHERAL CONFLICTS, SUCH AS ANGOLA, WHERE
ATTEMPTS TO GAIN UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE THREATEN THE BALANCE
OF GLOBAL STABILITY.

42. (BEGIN UNDERSCORE) TO KEEP AMERICA PROSPEROUS (END
UNDERSCORE) WE SEEK TO BUILD AN INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE
WHICH PROMOTES DOMESTIC PRODUCTIVITY AND ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITY, AND ENHANCES THE ABILITY OF OUR PEOPLE TO
TRADE AND INVEST ABROAD. IN THE LAST TWO YEARS WE HAVE
LEARNED THAT ALL OUR NATIONAL OBJECTIVES AND ASPIRATIONS
DEPEND FUNDAMENTALLY UPON THE HEALTH OF OUR ECONOMY.
THE RECESSION AND INFLATION OF THE LAST TWO YEARS HAVE
BEEN DIFFICULT, BUT WE ARE NOW EMERGING FROM THIS PERIOD
IN AS STRONG A POSITION AS ANY INDUSTRIAL NATION IN THE
WORLD.

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43. IN THE COURSE OF THESE RECENT YEARS WE HAVE LEARNED
TO WHAT EXTENT POSITIVE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS
ARE A DETERMINANT OF ORDER AND PROGRESS FOR ALL NATIONS.
THE FOREMOST CHALLENGE OF OUR TIME IN THIS AREA IS THE
ECONOMIC DIVISION OF THE PLANET BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH --
INDUSTRIAL AND DEVELOPING -- WHICH HAS BECOME AS PRESSING
AN ISSUE AS THE DIVISION BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. ECONOMIC
CONDITIONS NOT ONLY UNDERPIN EVERY SOCIETY'S ABILITY TO
ACHIEVE ITS NATIONAL GOALS, BUT ALL NATIONAL ECONOMIES

ARE SUSTAINED BY THE GLOBAL ECONOMIC SYSTEM. THE UNITED STATES ECONOMY WOULD SUFFER LEAST FROM AN ERA OF ECONOMIC WARFARE, BUT OUR HERITAGE OF MORAL VALUES AS WELL AS OUR OWN ECONOMIC PROGRESS MUST LEAD US TO LOOK BEYOND MERE SURVIVAL IN A WORLD OF DEEPENING RESENTMENT AND DEPRIVATION TO A NEW ERA OF INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION CAPABLE OF BRINGING BENEFIT AND OPPORTUNITY TO ALL.

44. THE UNITED STATES HAS TAKEN FAR-REACHING STEPS TO LAY THE FOUNDATION FOR ECONOMIC COOPERATION -- FIRST, WITH THE OTHER GREAT INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES IN TRADE, ENERGY, AND MONETARY REFORM. AND FROM THIS BASIS WE HAVE PUT

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FORTH A COMPREHENSIVE SET OF UNPRECEDENTED INITIATIVES AIMED AT BUILDING GLOBAL CONSENSUS ON THE GREAT ECONOMIC ISSUES NOW CONFRONTING ALL NATIONS -- FOOD, THE SUPPLY AND PRICE OF COMMODITIES, THE CONDITIONS OF TRADE AND INVESTMENT, AND THE SPECIAL NEEDS OF THE POOREST COUNTRIES, WHO ARE THE MOST DEVASTATED BY CURRENT ECONOMIC CONDITIONS. THE UNITED STATES WILL CONTINUE TO BE READY TO COOPERATE IN EVERY AREA OF GLOBAL ECONOMIC CONCERN, ON THE BASIS OF MUTUAL RESPECT AND MUTUAL BENEFIT.

45. (BEGIN UNDERSCORE) THE FUTURE: INTERDEPENDENCE AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION (END UNDERSCORE)

46. AS AMERICA LOOKS FORWARD TO THE THIRD CENTURY

OF OUR NATIONAL EXPERIENCE, WE HAVE BECOME VIVIDLY
AWARE THAT THE QUALITY AND PROGRESS OF THE LIVES OF OUR
CITIZENS INCREASINGLY WILL BE AFFECTED BY GLOBAL PROBLEMS
REQUIRING GLOBAL SOLUTIONS. THE ISSUES OF FOOD, ENERGY,
RESOURCES, HEALTH, THE ENVIRONMENT, POPULATION, THE USES
OF SPACE AND THE SEAS NOW ARE OF AN URGENCY EQUAL TO
THE TRADITIONAL ISSUES OF WAR, PEACE, AND ECONOMICS.

47. WE CAN APPROACH THESE NEW CHALLENGES WITH CONFIDENCE.
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AMERICA'S TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATION, OUR ACHIEVEMENTS
IN SCIENCE AND MEDICINE, THE PRODUCTIVITY OF OUR FARMS
AND INDUSTRIES, OUR PHYSICAL RESOURCES, OUR COMMITMENT
TO THE RULE OF LAW -- ALL HAVE LED THE NATIONS OF THE
WORLD TO LOOK TO US FOR INITIATIVES ON THE GLOBAL PROBLEMS
OF INTERDEPENDENCE. LET ME BRIEFLY MENTION THREE SUCH
PROBLEMS.

48. IN THE FIELD OF FOOD, OUR AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTIVITY
IS ADMIRERD AND DESIRED ALL OVER THE WORLD. AMERICA'S
FARMERS AND THOSE WHO PROCESS AND SELL OUR FOOD CAN BE
PROUD OF THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO AMERICAN STRENGTH IN WHAT
IS BECOMING AN INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT DIMENSION OF OUR
FOREIGN POLICY AND WORLD LEADERSHIP.

49. AMERICA HAS GENEROUSLY PROVIDED FOOD AID TO SCORES
OF FOREIGN NATIONS. BUT THE GAP BETWEEN CONSUMPTION AND
PRODUCTION IS GROWING CONSTANTLY. WHILE WE ARE PREPARED

TO CONTINUE FOOD AID THIS CANNOT PROVIDE A LONG-TERM
ANSWER TO FEEDING THE WORLD'S HUNGRY. THEREFORE, A
WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE WAS CONVENED IN ROME LAST
NOVEMBER AT UNITED STATES INITIATIVE. ACTING ON MANY

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AMERICAN PROPOSALS, THE CONFERENCE ORGANIZED A COMPRE-
HENSIVE INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM TO EXPAND FOOD PRODUCTION
IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND TO CHANNEL RESOURCES --
INCLUDING THE NEW WEALTH OF THE OIL PRODUCERS -- TO
IMPROVING THE FINANCING, PRODUCTION, STORAGE, AND
DISTRIBUTION OF FOOD.

50. WE INTEND AS A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE TO MAKE OUR FOOD
POLICY A MODEL FOR COOPERATIVE RELATIONS BETWEEN PRO-
DUCERS AND CONSUMERS OF VITAL AND SCARCE COMMODITIES AND
BETWEEN DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. IN THIS
WAY WE SERVE OUR OWN AS WELL AS A GENERAL INTEREST.
AMERICA'S FARMERS WILL BENEFIT FROM A STEADY GLOBAL
DEMAND FOR THEIR PRODUCT; AS WORLD PRODUCTION IS EXPANDED,
THE BURDEN OF SHORTAGES AND HIGHER PRICES WILL BE LIFTED
FROM OUR CONSUMERS; OUR POLITICAL RELATIONS WITH SCORES
OF DEVELOPING NATIONS WILL BE ENHANCED, AND CONDITIONS
OF ORDER WORLDWIDE WILL BE IMPROVED.

51. IN ADDITION, THE UNITED STATES IS THE LEADING FORCE
IN THE EFFORT TO EXTEND THE REACH OF INTERNATIONAL LAW TO
GLOBAL ISSUES. AMONG THE MOST URGENT IS THE QUESTION OF

USE OF THE SEAS, WHICH HOLD VAST UNTAPPED RICHES IN ENERGY,
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MINERALS AND PROTEIN AND WHOSE ENVIRONMENTAL INTEGRITY IS
CRUCIAL TO OUR SURVIVAL. THE UNITED STATES HAS PUT
FORWARD A COMPREHENSIVE SET OF PROPOSALS FOR THE LAW OF
THE SEA CONFERENCE WHICH RESUMES NEXT MONTH. THIS
NEGOTIATION IS VITAL FOR THE LONG-TERM STABILITY AND
PROSPERITY OF OUR GLOBE.

52. EQUALLY CRUCIAL IS OUR INTERNATIONAL EFFORT TO SOLVE
THE PROBLEM OF ENERGY AND THE RELATED ISSUE OF THE PRE-
SERVATION OF OUR ENVIRONMENT. OVER THE PAST TWO YEARS
OUR OBJECTIVE HAS BEEN TO DEVELOP A STRATEGY TO END OUR
DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL ENERGY VULNERABILITY. WE
HAVE MADE SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS IN MEETING THE IMMEDIATE
CRISIS THROUGH INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS TO PROTECT AGAINST
FURTHER OIL EMBARGOES AND DESTABILIZING MOVEMENTS OF ASSETS
HELD BY OIL PRODUCING COUNTRIES. AT HOME WE LOOK TO CON-
SERVATION AS THE PRIMARY SHORT-TERM MEANS OF REDUCING
OUR IMPORT DEPENDENCE. WE MUST ALSO SEEK TO ENCOURAGE
EXPLOITATION OF OUR RESERVES OF NATURAL GAS AS WELL AS
POTENTIAL OIL RESOURCES IN ALASKA AND ON THE OUTER
CONTINENTAL SHELF. FOR THE LONG-TERM WE HAVE BEGUN TO

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COORDINATE OUR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT EFFORT WITH OUR
ALLIES AND FRIENDS TO DEVELOP ALTERNATIVE SUPPLIES OF
ENERGY, BOTH NUCLEAR POWER AND THE MORE EXOTIC SOURCES
SUCH AS SYNTHETIC AND SOLAR ENERGY.

53. WE CANNOT SUCCEED ALONE IN THIS EFFORT. WE MUST
WORK CLOSELY WITH THE OTHER CONSUMING NATIONS IF WE
EXPECT TO END THE MONOPOLY POWER OF THE OIL PRODUCER
COUNTRIES AND HELP BRING ABOUT A NEW GLOBAL ENERGY
SYSTEM WHICH CAN PROVIDE RELIABLE SUPPLIES AT ADEQUATE
PRICES WHILE PRESERVING THE HERITAGE OF OUR ENVIRONMENT.
WE TOO OFTEN GIVE LIP SERVICE TO POSTERITY WHILE PLUNDER-
ING THE LAND, WATER AND MINERAL RESOURCES AS WELL AS THE
NATURAL BEAUTY OF OUR PLANET. ONLY BY WORKING TOGETHER
WITH OTHER NATIONS, WITH REASON AND A SPIRIT OF COOPER-
ATION, CAN WE MAINTAIN OUR NATION'S PRODUCTIVITY AND
PROGRESS WHILE ENSURING THAT OUR CHILDREN WILL INHERIT
A HEALTHY PLANET AND ONE IN WHICH THE HUMAN SPIRIT CAN
CONTINUE TO BE ENRICHED BY THE WONDERS OF NATURE.

54. (BEGIN UNDERSCORE) THE UNIVERSITY CONTRIBUTION (END
UNDERSCORE).

55. AS AMERICA HELPS SHAPE A NEW INTERNATIONAL STRUCTURE,
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QUESTIONS MUST BE RAISED WHICH LIFT OUR SIGHTS BEYOND
IMMEDIATE PREOCCUPATIONS; WHICH ANTICIPATE CONSEQUENCES
AND GRASP THE DEEPER COMPLEXITY OF ISSUES. THE ACADEMIC

COMMUNITY CAN HELP PROVIDE THAT PERSPECTIVE.

56. WHAT IS NEEDED IS NOT ADVICE ON DAY-TO-DAY TACTICS,
NOR ABSTRACT, INTELLECTUAL MODELS OF INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS WHICH HAVE PROVED IMPOSSIBLE TO MAKE RELEVANT.
WHAT IS NEEDED IS PERSPECTIVE ON THE NEXT FIVE OR TEN
YEARS. THESE ARE THE MIDDLE-TERM ALTERNATIVES WHICH MAY
DEPART FROM PRESENT POLICY, BUT ARE NOT SO FAR-REACHING
AS TO MAKE THE CONSEQUENCES INCALCULABLE. THIS IS THE
AREA ON WHICH, I BELIEVE, THE RESOURCES OF THE ACADEMIC
WORLD CAN BE MOST PRODUCTIVELY FOCUSED.

57. BUT THIS ADMINISTRATION WILL DO ITS PART TOO. WE
RECOGNIZE THE VALIDITY OF THE UNIVERSITIES' MOST URGENT
CONCERNS. WE ARE SEEKING TO FIND NEW WAYS TO STIMULATE
AND SUPPORT FOREIGN POLICY RESEARCH AND REFLECTION OUT-
SIDE THE GOVERNMENT, AND TO ENSURE A RECEPTIVE AUDIENCE
FOR THE PRODUCTS OF SUCH RESEARCH WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT.

AND IT IS OUR INTENTION TO END THE WASTEFUL OVERLAPPING
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BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE INSTITUTIONAL FRAGMENTATION OF
GOVERNMENT SUPPORT. WE WILL SEEK TO DETERMINE A PROPER
GOVERNMENT ROLE IN ASSURING THAT WE DO NOT LOSE OUR
UNIVERSITIES' WORLD LEADERSHIP IN DEVELOPING BODIES OF
KNOWLEDGE BY WHICH OTHER AREAS, CULTURES AND SOCIETIES
CAN BE BETTER UNDERSTOOD. WE HAVE CARRIED OUR RESEARCH
TO THE CORNERS OF THE EARTH, REVOLUTIONIZED THE STUDY OF

FOREIGN LANGUAGES, ESTABLISHED GREAT DEPARTMENTS OF AREA STUDIES, AND ENCOURAGED INTERNATIONAL SCHOLARLY SHARING. THIS ACHIEVEMENT MUST NOT BE LOST. FOR IT HAS NEVER BEEN MORE TRUE THAN NOW THAT WE NEED WHAT SENATOR FULBRIGHT CALLED, "THE CULTIVATION OF INTERNATIONAL PERCEPTION AND PERSPECTIVE."

58. (UNDERSCORE) CONCLUSION

59. A DIFFICULT DECADE HAS TAUGHT AMERICA THE LIMITATIONS OF OUR WORLD INFLUENCE. EXPERIENCE AND MATURITY HAVE DISPELLED ANY ILLUSION THAT WE COULD SHAPE EVENTS AS WE PLEASED. YET AT THE SAME TIME EVENTS WHICH ARE RESHAPING THE WORLD AROUND US TELL US THAT AMERICA'S STRENGTH IS UNIQUE AND OUR GLOBAL LEADERSHIP INDISPENSABLE -- TO

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WORLD PROGRESS AS WELL AS TO OUR DOMESTIC WELLBEING.

60. IN THE FACE OF ALL THE TURMOIL AND DISAPPOINTMENT OF THE PAST DECADE, OUR FOREIGN POLICY HAS CONTINUED TO GO FORWARD. WE HAVE LAID THE FOUNDATIONS FOR COOPERATIVE INTERNATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT ON THE CENTRAL ISSUES OF TODAY AND TOMORROW. WE MUST NOT TAKE THIS ACHIEVEMENT FOR GRANTED. WE MUST BUILD UPON IT.

61. THE TIMES MAKE UNPRECEDENTED DEMANDS ON US. WE MUST BE BOTH DYNAMIC AND PATIENT; STRAIGHTFORWARD AND SUBTLE; STRONG AND CONCILIATORY. ABOVE ALL WE NEED COHERENCE; WE NEED TO SEE CLEARLY ONCE AGAIN THAT AMERI-

CA'S PRACTICAL INTERESTS CAN BE FURTHERED WHILE REMAINING

TRUE TO OUR MORAL HERITAGE.

62. THE LINK BETWEEN OUR NATIONAL DESTINY AND INTER-
NATIONAL PERFORMANCE IS MORE CRUCIAL THAN EVER. THE
FOUNDING FATHERS KNEW, AND WE MUST REALIZE ONCE AGAIN,
THAT ENGAGEMENT WITH THE WORLD IS UNAVOIDABLE. THE
QUEST FOR A GOOD SOCIETY AT HOME AND A BETTER WORLD
AROUND US IS NOT A DAY'S OR A DECADE'S WORK. FOR US,
IT MAY BE EVERLASTING. AMERICA HAS NEVER BEEN FOUND

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WANTING. AMERICA STILL STANDS READY FOR TOMORROW. ROBINSON

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